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ABSTRACT

Egbema, one of six Ijo groups in Nigeria, is an obscure group in danger of becoming dominated by the culture of its neighbors. The Ijo people appear to be socially, politically, and spiritually lost, and their dialects are disappearing. In the Ijo society physical appearance is important, and men and women wear specified dress. Performing greetings correctly with the proper gestures is an essential part of the culture. Marriage rites are very traditional, including a bride price, a formal ceremony, and marital rules. For births, middle-aged women serve as mid-wives; for deaths the women burst into bitter lamentation while the men dress the corpse and perform other rites. For the settlement of disputes, there are different ways for different cases. Since the Ijo live in the Niger Delta, they are accomplished rivermen who excel at work in boats and ships. Religion is also a very important part of their lives. Other activities include dancing, wrestling, and children's games (11 are described). A 13 page wordlist of the Egbema dialect is appended. (NCR)

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgement

Foreword by Dr. E. J. Alagoa	...	...	1
1. Introduction	...	...	1
2. Physical Appearance	...	...	4
3. Greetings	...	...	5
4. Marriage	...	...	6
5. Birth, Death, and Burial	...	...	9
6. Settlement of Disputes	...	...	13
7. Occupation	...	...	14
8. Religion	...	...	15
9. Dancing	...	...	16
10. Plays and Games	...	...	17
11. Miscellaneous Customs	...	...	21
Appendix:			
Wordlist of Egbema	...	...	24

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Many friends contributed to the success of this book. As the Ijò saying has it, a finger cannot pick a louse from the hair. I could not have written this book alone. Some of the friends are W. M. Kin, Sunday Sibe, R. A. Pablogha, E. S. Megbuwe, and W. D. Nanagban.

At Ibadan, Dr. E. J. Alagoa read the manuscript and edited it. Dr. Kay Williamson also put the word list in order with assistance of Richard A. Freemann. I am very grateful to all these friends; and especially to Professor R. G. Armstrong, Director of the Institute of African Studies who permitted the use of the Institute's facilities.

G. O. E. Tiemo

FOREWORD

Egbema, about which Mr. Tiemo writes is one of six Ijo groups lying to the west of the bulk of the Ijo in the Rivers State and in the Western Ijaw Division of the Mid-West State. The Egbema have been cut into two parts between the Warri and Benin Divisions of the Mid-West State. The other groups are the Gbaramatu on the Escravos River in Warri Division, the Olodiama and Fuyapagha, both in Benin Division, Arogbo and Apoi in Okitipupa Division of the Western State.

All six groups have been quite obscure except for the recent discovery of oil in two areas: near Ofoniamama in Egbema, and at Gelegelegbene in Olodiama. This backwater position is part of the fear Mr. Tiemo expresses of these Ijo groups getting 'lost'. The danger Mr. Tiemo sees is of their Ijo culture getting swamped by the culture of their dominant neighbour -- Yoruba (for the Arogbo and Apoi), Edo (for the Egbema and Olodiama), and Itsekiri (for the Gbaramatu, as partly for the Egbema and Olodiama). There are, of course, also considerable Urhobo settlers in the area. One obvious aspect of this obscuring process that Mr. Tiemo does not mention is the spelling of the Ijo names of the towns of these communities in the Edo or Itsekiri manner on maps and in other official matters. Thus Ofoniamama as Ovenama, and Gelegelegbene as Gilli-Gilli. It is, therefore, difficult to identify them. In other cases, the name by which the Edo or Itsekiri know the town, rather than that by which its inhabitants call it has been adopted. Thus the Olodiama town of Kusangha has become Ekenwhan on maps.

Still, this very intermingling of cultures gives these Ijo groups of the Far Western Delta a unique interest. They provide case studies of culture contact comparable to the predicament of other Ijo groups at the eastern extremity of the Niger Delta (e.g. Opobo and Nkoro in contact with Andoni,

Ibibio, Ogoni, and Ibo). Very little has yet been done on the study of such contacts between Nigerian peoples, and Mr. Tiemo's book provides interesting data for the Niger Delta.

Dr. Kay Williamson already has a word list of Egbema taken down by Richard Freemann from one of Tiemo's informants, E. S. Megbuwe. But she confirms that Tiemo's list includes material absent from the Megbuwe-Freemann list.

Other work is being done on this part of the Niger Delta at the Institute of African Studies. Tape-recordings of historical oral traditions have been made among the Arogo, Apoi, Olodiamá, Gbaramatu, and Egbema. It is planned to record among the Furupagha before long. There has also been some recording of the ethnography of festivals and ritual among the Apoi. [See E. J. Alagoa: "The Ju Festival" in Nigeria Magazine No. 96 and "The Western Apoi" in African Notes (forthcoming)].

Mr. Tiemo, 30, is a Primary School teacher at Warri. He is the author of an Ijo Hymnal published in 1960, which he is currently revising. Most of the material in this book refers particularly to his own group, Egbema. But some of the data was obtained by him from friends in Arogo, Olodiamá, Furupagha, and Gbaramatu.

E. J. Alagoa,
Senior Research Fellow,
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INTRODUCTION

This small book is dedicated to the young men of the Ijo peoples of Egbema, Arogo, Olodiama, Gbaramatu, Furupagha, and Apoi. I have waited a long time for this opportunity to speak my mind on the way our Ijo dialects are disappearing. I wish to correct some of the attitudes and actions of our people which help to make our language disappear.

The Ijo of these clans appear to be socially, politically and spiritually lost. They do not appreciate the beauty of the language they have inherited from their ancestors. In some of these clans the youth know only a few words of their own language, and rather speak the foreign languages of their neighbours. Their parents are often no better.

In lower Egbema, for example, a man would speak Itsekiri to his own brother even when no Itsekiri man is present. It is even worse among the Arogo who use Yoruba greetings in the morning, afternoon, and evening. Their friendly conversation is also conducted in Yoruba. Edo and Itsekiri are indiscriminately mixed with Ijo among the Olodiama. And among the Gbaramatu, a man who cannot speak Itsekiri is despised. While in Arogo the people still have their language, the Apoi have lost it almost completely and speak Yoruba only.

Even those who still know their Ijo language give foreign names to their children, forgetting that Ijo is very rich in proverbial and idiomatic names. About nine out of ten names given to children in these clans are in Itsekiri, Yoruba, or Edo. This is bad. In two families I visited in lower Egbema and Arogo respectively, both the husband, the two wives and each of their children bore Itsekiri, or Yoruba names. It is easy to see that were this to go on, all Ijo names would disappear after this generation.

In our churches too, we are dominated by our neighbours through our use of their languages. In lower Egbema, Itsekiri is used both in singing and Bible reading. In Arogo, all singing, Bible reading, preaching, announcements, everything, is done in Yoruba.

Even worse still, all vernacular lessons in our schools are given in Edo or Yoruba. We could assign a special period for these languages but not the vernacular period. These are not our vernacular. The study of Yoruba has even corrupted our spelling of Ijọ. Some use p for Ijọ kp, forgetting that Ijọ has different sounds p, and kp, whereas Yoruba has only one sound p corresponding to Ijọ kp.

It is important at this juncture to name two towns in Upper Egbema as exceptions. The people of Ofunama (Ofoniam) and Ajakrama (Ajakoroama) do not mix any foreign language in their Ijọ. Ofunama is, of course, the oldest town in Egbema from which all others sprang. It is, therefore, referred to as Amatu (the origin of towns). And Ajakrama is the seat of the Agadagba or Bini-pere (High Priest and king) of the Egbema.

Since many young men do not know the Ijọ alphabet, I give it below.

a	b	c	d	e	ẹ	f	g	h
i	↓	j	k	l	m	n	o	ọ
p	r	s	t	u	ụ	v	w	y
							z	

Some of these letters are new to the Ijọ language. The letter j is one such letter. It was originally z. Even the word Ijọ was originally spelt Izon. The original word Izon is still in use, meaning "truth". The Ijọ say "Izon yée" when they want to say that something is true. Another word in which z has given place to j is "aja", meaning "now". The original word was "aza".

The vowels i and y should be specially noted since they do not appear in the old school readers and primers.

The Ijo language is full of proverbs and idiomatic expressions, and young men must be encouraged to use it. For instance, if an Ijo man ignorantly speaks ill of a foreigner who understands the dialect, his neighbour can warn him in one of three subtle expressions:

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. Bein peḷe emiwéi yo | He is able to cross (the river) |
| 2. Arumí ufurimini | The canoe is leaking |
| 3. Doḷumí tolú emi | The palm stem is full of holes
(revealing the presence of edible
Palm Beetle grub). |

These expressions translated literally mean different things, but the man to whom they are spoken understands their deep idiomatic sense.

The language also has all genders complete, unlike some neighbouring languages which use the same word for man, woman, and things. For the masculine gender we use bei, wei, and u. For the feminine gender we have ma, ráy, and a. For example ogonráy is sister-in-law, ogonwei, brother-in-law.

Finally I urge all Ijo youth, as well as the youth of our neighbouring peoples to be proud of their languages. Use Ijo names for your children, so that they may grow up knowing the exact meaning of their names and be proud of them.

And use the Ijo greetings, and converse in Ijo, and only use another language when your neighbour does not understand Ijo.

Sing Ijo songs in your churches so that you will understand the full feeling, spirit and meaning of the songs. Also read

lessons and preach in your local dialect. God is neither Yoruba nor English.

And read Ijọ as the vernacular in your schools so that your children may grow to speak, read, and write in their native tongue.

If we do these things all may yet be well with us.

2. Physical Appearance

The Ijọ consider themselves to be handsome men. They comment on any handsome stranger they meet by saying "This man looks like an Ijọ".

The characteristic facial marks are usually three on each side of the face, including one deep one which becomes more conspicuous because it is blackened. Finally one straight long mark from the forehead through the nose.

The women mark dots around the chest, neck, back, and abdomen. These dots are made according to set designs, each of which has its name e.g. ofini bwọ (chicken feet). A lady without marks is not respected, and mothers and senior sisters always see that girls are appropriately marked. The front teeth of girls and boys are usually split (filed).

The style of dress is as follows: The men tie a loin cloth of about six or eight yards. They wear a large shirt over it and a big cap. The loin cloth is fastened on by a black head tie or belt.

The women wear two loin cloths: One tied over the other to fall a little below the knees. In former times a rich woman was known by her use of a home-manufactured cloth called ifokóye or idoko bídé made by herself or her maid. It was

richly designed. These things are now done in a few villages only.

3. Greetings

There is only a limited number of greetings. The commonest greetings for all occasions is Doó. But for 'thank you' we also have Degbe tuwá. For somebody about to leave on a journey:

Mu ta bôo Go and return safely.

Díí yéni, Walk with care.

Díí mu, Go well.

To somebody who stays at home:

Díí timi, Stay well.

Goodnight is

Duin báí wáíyo (or báí yo), May we meet tomorrow.

To greet a senior person one says: Koideí yo, I have knelt down (may be accompanied by symbolic knee movement only). The senior answers: Soríí Rise. To a man advanced in age we add, Koideí yo dáda, I have knelt down, father. Or, Koideí yo néne (or Koideí yo é yíin), I have knelt down, mother.

The elder answers: Sorí ení tóbou, doó, Rise my child, thank you.

These greetings are accompanied by hand shakes and bowing. The junior or younger man also touches the ground with one or both knees. Both knees are used to show deep respect or if one is married to a relation of the person greeted. It is the senior man who first stretches out his hand. It is wrong for a young man to first stretch out his hand to shake an elder.

If both men are of the same age-group, the greetings are accompanied with mutual calling of personal praise titles such as:

Amádybáa!	Ogodogbiriri!
Ífirighadi!	Ugufiyéé!
Alagbabínáfa!	Okubádoybó!
Egburubide!	Idinóbodo!
Ikégburuk!	Ayígbirí!
Aketekpée!	Akpana!
Afeyama!	Konq! (Kóónq)

A young man cannot exchange such name calling with an elder, unless the elder first addresses the youth by his father or grandfather's title. Even so the youth only answers: E day ye, That is my father's title; or, Ení opu day ye, That is my grandfather's title.

At funeral gatherings this answering of praise titles is sometimes so extended that each person is greeted with three personal titles, three for his father, and three for his grandfather.

4. Marriage

A bride is ayoro, a bridegroom, ayoro jei. In former times a girl who promised her hand in marriage to a man did so for life. There was no divorce. Sometimes a boy and girl eloped if the parents refuse to grant their request. But normally the parents of the girl formally hand the girl to her husband. Parents would favour a good dancer, singer, drummer, wrestler or worker. They would also look kindly on a young man who is known to show respect to his elders.

The normal procedure is for the boy's father to send a man to the girl's father and a woman to her mother. The boy himself obtains the consent of the girl.

Bride price was no more than five shillings. This increased to twelve shillings, one pound four shillings, and very soon to eighty and even over a hundred pounds. This increase was opposed by the youth, sometimes even in the courts, and is now coming down again.

A ceremony is organised on an agreed day after the payment of the bride price. On the day the first installment of the bride price is paid, the male messenger, his supporter, bride and groom, together with a number of the relations of the groom go in a procession to the house of the bride's father. The bride and bridegroom kneel, the girl placing her hands on the man. The woman supporter places her hands on the bride. They are then blessed. The father (or an official spokesman) says:

"This girl has been given to you officially to be your wife. If any man goes after her, you are within your rights to obtain reparation.

She is still small, and may get angry without cause. Please find out what worries her, and treat her with kindness. If she offends you, please over-look it. But if you should, through annoyance, beat her, and she runs into the bush, follow her and bring her home.

She may be good or bad, but bear with her. You are free to visit me at any hour of the day or night. My house has become yours."

Similar words are spoken to the girl. But she is in addition asked to give the same respect she gives to her husband to all his relations. She has to report her grievances to members of the husband's family.

A glass of gin is blessed and given to the bridegroom. He sips it and passes it on to the bride who sips and passes it to her woman companion.

On the fixed day, food and drink are supplied in large quantities by the girl's father. There is much eating, drinking, and dancing. Relations of the bride entertain the guests with gin and money.

The newly married girl, ayoro, is adorned with coral beads round her neck and bangles on her wrists. For a period of three months she uses about three different changes of cloth a day. A young girl follows her every-where and runs errands for her. The ayoro does no work during this period, the husband's sisters and mother supplying all her needs.

It was forbidden for a man to take a married woman to bed. The husband challenged such a man to a fight and then took him before the elders. The elders reprimanded such a man severely, and in addition, imposed a heavy fine on him. The offence is called amata.

It was also forbidden for a man to pass through the legs of a married woman, to hold her wrist, touch her waist, breasts, or to sit on her lap. These acts were considered preliminary processes towards adultery and were, accordingly, forbidden.

A few years ago, no Ijo man gave his daughter in marriage to a non-Ijo man. This custom is said to have begun after two princesses were married to an Ibo and Itsekiri king. The ladies were never seen again, and presumed killed. This generation has changed this custom and Ijo girls now marry men from other ethnic groups.

5. Birth, Death, and Burial

Middle-aged women serve as mid-wives. They are able to put the wombs of girls in order. They also take charge of pregnant women and are responsible for their proper delivery. They usually do this so well that delivery is quick and accompanied by little pain.

A woman newly delivered of a baby does not come out for seven days. She comes out on the seventh day with her best clothes. She visits her neighbours and is presented with gifts for her baby. The baby itself would be circumcised on the eighth day, if it is a boy. The gifts could continue for some three months. The husband gives three bottles of gin for a boy and four for a girl as soon as the birth is announced.

Ijo doctors continue to have a thriving practice since modern hospitals are still not available. But they also give satisfaction. Thus even cases in the big towns are sometimes brought back to these men. They are particularly good at massaging. They are probably better than the hospitals in the treatment of dislocations, sprains, fractures of all kinds, and stiffness of the body. Accordingly, when someone dies in these places, the disease is usually incurable.

As soon as death is confirmed, every one bursts into bitter lamentation to express their feelings. The women do most of the crying while the men soon begin to dress the corpse. They collect contributions towards the funeral ceremonies from all relations of the deceased.

The wake-keeping is organised for the following night. Women spread mats around the ground so that they may rest for short spells during the night.

The ceremonies start off with the singing of special funeral songs: three for a man and four for a woman. These

songs are ancient and unchangeable. Some elders always attend at their singing to correct errors introduced by the youth.

Throughout the night the igbe, elei agbá, ekere, kotojá, and komuká drums are beaten. The igime dance is performed most of the night. Drinks are also served profusely. About six o'clock in the morning, the ceremony of ogbudybá is performed. This consists of special songs concluding the wake-keeping, and calling sleepers to get up. It is performed on the third day for a man and on the fourth day for a woman. Meat is also provided: goats, pigs, alligators (sibiri or agugu) or a cow. Meanwhile the bamboo divining frame, (igbadagha or obebe) is got ready by other men.

The carrying of the divining frame is done after breakfast time. In Egbema it is carried by four men, but by six in Olodiana. The object of the divination is to confirm among other things, that the deceased had not offended Egbesu, the national god of the Egbema. They inquire of the frame:

- (1) The cause of death
- (2) Whether or not the person practised witchcraft
- (3) Whether the person used medicines to cause the death of others
- (4) Whether such medicine was made by the use of some animal, bird, or fish, taboo to Egbesu
- (5) Whether the deceased had committed murder-an offence against Egbesu
- (6) Whether the deceased committed adultery with his neighbours' wives
- (7) Whether the deceased was guilty of the offence of failure to report knowledge of an attempt by some other person to kill by medicine.

Since these were all offences against Egbesu, anyone guilty of them would have been killed by Egbesu.

The divination helped to determine in which of four categories of cemeteries the deceased would be buried:

- (1) The teenagers' cemetery
- (2) Slaves and those adjudged guilty of evil
- (3) Those who die of conception, sores, leprosy, smallpox or other unusual bodily malady
- (4) Persons adjudged blameless, and for chiefs (some of whom are buried in their compounds):

Even where a deceased was declared guilty of an offence by divination, the offence may be removed by the payment of fines and other ritual. Such procedure would be adopted, for example, if:

- (1) The person was killed in a match, and so the killing was explainable as self-defence.
- (2) The medicine owned by the deceased had not, in fact, been used by the deceased to kill.
- (3) The medicine made with the animal or bird taboo to Egbesu had been prepared by someone other than the deceased.
- (4) Adultery, amatá, had been the result of the woman's activity, or because the deceased was unaware she was married.

The following payments are exacted as fines for offences for which mitigating circumstances have been admitted. Twelve shillings (wuru ékpeti), fifteen threepences (diye adii), a calabash of palm wine (izon wurú ika), a bottle of gin (beké wuru ololo). The money is divided among the towns of the clan; any member of a town present at the occasion may receive its share.

A ritual dance follows. Three men are appointed to do it. All tie their wrappers in a special way - owol gbini. They tie a white scarf knotted to leave a portion flying at the back. They wear no shirts and carry a cutlass in their right hands. Their faces are painted black. Their eyes become red as the dance proceeds; and they force their tongues out at intervals. The drums beat out a special rhythm and talk to the dancers and the audience. The three dancers answer any questions asked by the drums. The ritual ends with each dancer running three times to the water-front and making prolonged calls:

"Ówóí yé-é-é-e-e-e-e

Bábó kán bí yó-ó-ó-ó-ó-kom".

This ritual, called Egbesú uzu, has to be done by experts since the drumming as well as the steps and the final call are difficult and exclusive to it.

The funeral ceremonies for a common man last three days. Cannon are shot thrice each morning and evening. It is four days for a woman, with the firing of two or four shots of cannon morning and evening. Relatives of the deceased were obliged to fire gun shots as frequently as possible, especially on their way to the place of death. This procedure is considered important. It is even said that Ijọ reluctance to send children to school was the result of the first workers refusing to observe these rites on the excuse that their employers had not permitted them to come home for the funeral of relations.

The funeral rites for big chiefs are sometimes extended to seven days. In some cases ceremonies were extended to three months or more. The funeral celebrations of chiefs Megbuiwe, Igbiriki, Oniyebrutan, Koko, the Kọnọwei II of Oloduwa are said to have lasted about six months in each case. Some of these funerals took place as recently as 1961.

6. Settlement of Disputes

Disputes occur wherever two or more people live together. Accordingly many types of cases arise among the Ijo and they have ways of settling them. There are land cases, disputes over fishing ponds, cases over marriage and divorce. Different types of cases are settled in different ways.

There are cases that a family head or the head of a compound settles internally. He can also bring in cases that have already gone outside before a chief. He does this because such cases would expose him as weak - if it is a matter that he should have been able to settle within the family or compound.

Each town also has its Ama-okosuwei or town-elder. These men are supported by other elders in the settlement of disputes within the town.

Some cases are passed from the Amaokosuwei to a chief called Perę-gbolú or to the ruler of the clan, the Agadágba.

Persons engaged in serious discussion or about to settle a dispute usually sit on mats. This is considered more cooling than sitting on high stools. The Amaokosuwei, Agadágba or compound head serving as judge over the case appoints a spokesman (Obine-tibiwei, Beinmowei, or Bibikori-fiyewei) and an interpreter (Boomó-gbawei).

The interpreter stands between the two parties to the dispute and repeats their statements word for word. All questions are asked through the interpreter. The questioner says either: "U bif da dii" (ask him) or, "U bif e prí yee" (ask him for me). The answers are similarly given through the interpreter.

After both parties have given their statements and asked questions, they leave the compound. The jury members then gather in groups to give their opinion. The Ama-okosuwei or Agadagba sums them up, adding or subtracting as he thinks fit, and mandates the spokesman to give the judgement in his name. If there is need to give warning to either or to both parties, the Amaokosuwei or Agadagba does it himself to show how seriously the matter is viewed.

Most cases are settled without fines, although the two parties may, on their own initiative, buy drinks for the judge and jury to show their gratitude. Fines, when levied, are usually in dozen (ekpeti) bottles of gin.

The usual sign of reconcilliation is for both parties to drink out of the same glass. The senior drinks first and gives to the junior. They also exchange greetings, and shake hands too if they are men. They share the fee charged by the judge and jury.

7. Occupation

Since the Ijo live in the Niger Delta, they are accomplished rivermen who excel at work in boats and ships. They are to be found in all the marine services of Nigeria from the lowliest to the most responsible positions.

They have also been good builders of canoes from antiquity. Probably because of this they also carve several other things in wood: Paddles, oars, mortars and pestles, wooden plates, dishes, ladles, combs, and dancing masks.

They also hunt animals found in the forests of the creeks and estuaries.

But fishing is their most characteristic occupation. For this they use a large variety of cages, traps, fences, nets, spears and hooks. They also use the crushed fruits of the raffia palm as a poison to catch fish in the creeks. Families and villages also own fish ponds in the bush, which are fished communally.

Other occupations include mat weaving, the collection of palm fruits, raffia palm wine tapping, distillation of gin, salt-making, and pottery. Some little farming is also practised.

8. Religion

The Ijò are a very religious people. They worshipped their gods regularly and accorded their priests great respect. Drumming and dancing were prominent during religious festivals, often leading to a priest being possessed by a spirit. Such a priest may faint in a trance for hours or dive into the water for long periods. Such persons are regarded as having communication with the gods of the water.

Sometimes goats were sacrificed and food and drink offered to the spirits of the ancestors. This is to ensure that the dead do not starve in the other world.

All these festivals provide occasion for reviving ancient songs, dances, old stories, and drumming, since each ritual called for different songs, etc.

The father of all Egbema-Ijò gods is Egbesú. Each of the five other clans of the area also has its own Egbesú.

Other gods were Opelé, Ayánka, Kpokotín, Pələwei, Mammywantán (Water Queen), Bounanáwei, Ogoni, Iyedybaghotimighan, Evuké, Akóbrise, Oberéwei, and Igodo.

Women were not permitted in the area where some of these gods were being served, e.g. Bounanawei (owner of the forest). Women were also not allowed to own umbrellas without paying a fee of twelve shillings to Egbesú.

The rapid spread of Christianity has begun to affect the performance of some rituals. But the worship of Egbesú cannot be wiped out.

9. Dancing

Egbema-Ijọ dancing is not very different from that of their neighbours. But some of their dances have been borrowed and adapted by their neighbours, especially the masquerade dances.

The most colourful dancing occurs when the dancers of one town are invited to another town. A special canoe is decked out and decorated with flags. The paddles, called ebelebú or kalajówéí, were painted, as were the drums.

The usual dress for such occasions was a sleeveless singlet, four or six yards of loin cloth, and a silk cloth round the head. Some leading dancers were differentiated by silk cloth round the waist and small bells tied to this belt.

The paddlers too performed to the rhythm of the drum. Each action was dictated by the drum, whether to lean forward or backward, to raise the paddle or dip it in the water.

Some dancers stood dancing at the prow and rear of the canoe. These are believed to be "fortified" with medicine and are never known to have fallen into the water.

When the canoe arrives at its destination, it is made to turn round several times before it attempts to beach. The

hosts then push it back three times before they finally bring it in and welcome the dancers.

After the dancers return home, they usually fix a day for a final dance at home called bwo ju (putting up the feet).

Several Ijo dances have been lost. The few that have been preserved include Owu sei (masquerade dance), Egene sei, Yóontá, Ábó, and Igime.

10. Plays and Games

Swimming is the most common sport for all sexes and ages. For the men the most significant sport is wrestling and the Ijo may be the best wrestlers in West Africa. Several wrestling festivals are held each year.

Wrestling champions are highly respected. There are such titles as Olótu (champion), and Okóókówei (specialist) conferred on them. The Okóókówei is not necessarily the best wrestler, but one who is an expert in the technics of wrestling. On the field of contest they dance and sing to the beat of the drum, answer their personal drum praise titles, and challenge other champions to combat.

There are usually two opposing teams, often representing two villages. These matches are arranged by invitation or challenge from one neighbouring village to another.

There are also children's plays with their accompanying songs e.g. Ikolof, Ikpiri, Isakú and Idikí, Goó (Gee), Obyka goó, Gbele, Akí, Ikotó, Ení obiri, Tun ghó koromq baí, and Be-e-e-e.

These games are played in the following manner.

1. Ikolof: A piece of plantain stalk is tied to a rope and

swung by one of the players anti-clockwise round his body. Other young men stand in a circle round him and try to spear the stalk from right to left. Each strike is counted as a point in favour of the successful spearman.

2. Ikpírf: This is another spear game. The object to be speared is a thick round ball of young raffia palm stem or other plant. This object is called ikpírf. Two groups of young men stand some distance apart along a path on opposite sides of the path. The ikpírf is rolled down the path first by one group, as fast as they can, towards the opposing group. Members of this second group then try to strike the ikpírf with their spears. They run after it and make several tries. When the ikpírf comes to a stop, one member of the group stands on the spot where it was first speared and attempts to spear the stationary ikpírf from there. He moves back after each unsuccessful attempt. If he finally fails, a member of the group goes over to the opposing group. After one group has been completely transferred to the other, they change positions along the path with a song: Kurí kurí náá bírí fa (The tattered rump got lost at your end).

3. Isakú - Idíkí: Two participants are named Isakú and Idíkí. All others (boys and girls) sit with legs outstretched. The legs are covered with a cloth. Isakú passes a nut under the cloth and places it in the laps of one of the players. The one in whose laps the nut is placed is said to be under menstruation. If Idíkí fails to identify him, the player with the nut in his laps is said to be under conception. If he gets identified later, he is declared to have aborted. If he is again not identified, he is said to have been delivered, and leaves the group. The last person to be left sitting is shamed with a song: Ofini tobou kinyó kinyó, (The chick that

cries).

4. Obyká goó: This is a race game. Every player takes a monkey (obykón) position on all fours. One pursues the others, still in this position.

5. Góo: Góo is a race game played round a pole. The pursuer holds it, and exchanges the following challenges with the rest of the group;

He: Góo!

They: Êe!

He: Dáda ofinibei ya o? (Where is my father's fowl?)

They: Be ú o. (Here it is).

He: Túbó kẹ uní túbíí fí ma? (Who ate its head?)

They: Ê o (I did).

He: Túbó kẹ u wó sẹí fí ma? (Who ate its tail?)

They: Ê o (I did).

He then announces his intention to come after them. Any one who eludes his grasp and touches the pole is safe from further pursuit. The one he catches takes his place as the pursuer.

6. Gbele: Here the pursuit is continuous. Any one touched immediately goes after another. The pursuit goes on non-stop.

7. Akí: Two groups of boys share out equal numbers of the hard beans of a plant of the Canavalia species. Each group fixes one bean, called the Pere (king) of the side ahead of the others. Both sides take turns in rolling other beans in their hands at the rows of beans of the opposing side. Any bean struck by a rolled bean is taken and used as an additional projectile. The group that first strikes down all the beans of the opposing group wins the game. Any player who strikes the Pere (king) of the other party closes his mouth until he succeeds in striking down some other bean.

8. Ikotó: The ikotó is a top made out of small snail shells. Two to ten players can take part, each with his own set of ikotó. A circle is marked out with a folded cloth and a second spread over the circle. Two opposing ikotó tops only are permitted to dance in the circle at a time. As the two tops strike each other one is usually pushed out of the circle. The owner of the other top takes the defeated top.

There are two types of tops apart from the common kind, namely: (1) A reddish type called Yin-ghon-pulo-furú (steal oil from mother),

(2) a white one called Pína-furu (white stealer).

9. Ení obiri (my dog): All participants hold each other by the waist - thus forming a long 'canoe'. The dog owner walks round the canoe shouting: "Loó, loó, loó, loó, loó." As he gets to the leader, he asks, "Ení obiribéí bo míyọ ghọ bọ́dẹí gha? (Did my dog pass this way?). On the first two times the question is asked, the leader answers, "Sá bo bọghọ o" (It has not passed this way). On the third time, however, the leader answers, "U bó bọ́ọ ní e u baá kọ ení aru dinmọ tobou prí.fí me, I dọn iyéa míyẹ e" (It passed this way, and I killed it to feed my steersman, if it annoys you, do your worst). The dog owner then tries to get at the steersman. The leader struggles with him, as the crew and the dog owner sing:

Dog owner: Ení obiri gbanléle (twice)

Crew: Kpóró wosí (continuously).

When the contest has gone on long enough, the steersman runs to hold a freedom pole and crows like a cock: "Kokoró-o-o-ko-o-o".

10. Tun ghọ koromọ baú: The players stand in a circle facing inwards. One member moves round on the outside with a piece of cloth tied into a knot. He drops it quietly behind one in

the circle and continues round the circle. If the man on the circle fails to pick up the cloth before the runner-round-the-circle gets back to him, he receives a whack on the buttocks for not being vigilant. If he is vigilant and picks it up, the runner-round stands in his place.

11. Bee: This is a test of breath-holding. Two groups face each other across a field. A member of each group moves across to the opposing group and back without, apparently, taking a breath, shouting, be-e-e. Any member who draws a breath moves over to the opposite camp. The space between the groups is widened if no one fails. There are three other sentences repeated in this game:

- (1) Agbarú joun furúminí doibó fa,
Agbarú (a long snakelike scaly fish) is burning and there is none to take it off the fire.
- (2) Ofini furúminí e nimí timí dú fa,
The fowl is burning, I cannot stay.
- (3) Abólibó ari egberí egberi ké gbaa,
Abólibó is always telling lies.

11. Miscellaneous Customs

Drink: No man drinks with the left hand except the three men chosen to perform the ritual of cleansing of an offence to Egbesu. Also persons with the title of Ogbúu could drink with their left hand.

No man serves another a drink with his left hand. It is an offence to Egbesu to so serve.

Women can on no account drink with their left.

Umbrella: No woman uses an umbrella unless she first pays a fee of twelve shillings to Egbesu.

No boy uses an umbrella without first buying one for his father. This is not a rule prescribed by Egbesu but a convention dictated by respect.

Women: A woman who injures or burns a child either deliberately or through carelessness is singed or hurt in return by any relation of the husband around. She is, in addition, fined. Some relations may only fine her.

No woman may say Ogún i fi, (Ogun, god of iron, eat you) to a boy or man. It is a common form of abuse among men, but considered highly offensive when used by a woman.

A woman may not wash her clothes in a basin or bucket used for domestic purposes in the house.

A woman may not beat a man with her left hand or ever knock him on the head.

No married woman leaves her neck naked. She must have beads on. If she neglects to do so, the husband's relations could charge her with wishing the death of the man, since only widows go about with naked necks for the three months of mourning. She pays a fine of gin, and the relation buys beads for her. Some husbands reject food offered by the wife because of this offence.

Men: A man may not pass under women's clothes hung out to dry.

No man may use the same latrine or urinal with women.

Men and Women: Sex was not discussed in the presence of young people. This kept young girls pure until they got married.

A woman's left hand was strictly taboo. Accordingly, a wife made her man's bed in such a way that the husband's left hand rests on the wife and the wife's right hand on the husband.

Trance: Any man or woman who falls into a trance is not called by name during the trance.

Holy Days: The main days dedicated to the gods are Kala Ékẹn and Opu Ékẹn - small and Big market days.

Egbesu: If a manatee is killed the hunter has to make certain exclamations:

- (1) Aábúkú ó-ó-ó-ó-ó Nama (three times).
- * (2) Ókpókirítálá é-e-e bábó kánghán bí yéé (three times)

If someone sees a dead leopard in the bush or kills one, some parts have to be sent to the Agadagba (king), who compensates the man. Such parts include the teeth and claws.

Any man who sees or kills the leopard has to celebrate Egbesú Uzu. The ritual is similar to that performed when a man commits murder. The exclamations, however, are different. In this case he shouts:

- * "Ówóí yé-é-é-e-e-e,
Ékpén ó-ó-ó-ó-ó-ó".

APPENDIX

Wordlist of the Egbema dialect

Words are divided into sections. Inside each section, they are arranged alphabetically according to the English meaning.

1. Human and supernatural beings

aunt	iyoro yabi	girl	iyoro tobou
boy	owoi tobou	God	Tamaray
bride	ayoro, aja ere	god	eru
bridechamber	ayoro juru	grandchild	tau tobou
bridegroom	ayoro jei,	granddaughter	iyoro tau
	ayoro konwei	grandfather	opu dau
bridesmaid	ayoro gbaljaray	grandmother	opu yin
brother	binawei	grandson	owoi tau
children	owou	half-brother	kenidaubowei
devil	poubolouwei	half-sister	kenidaubo-aray
enemy, foe	ogiren	husband	jei
fairyland	duwei ama	king	peru
father	dau	man	owoi kimi
fisherman	idibawei	mate, co-wife	yanfanran, utu
fool	akpa	mother	yin
friend	jowoi	native doctor	buribo, burawei
girl	erewobay	native doctor (female)	burjaray
nephew	binabou owoi tobou	step-child	erin tobou
niece	binabou iyoro tobou	step-daughter	erin iyoro tobou

prince	pere ówoi tobou	step-father	erin day, kiri daí
princess	pere iyoro tobou	step-mother	erin yin, kiri yifn
queen	iyoro pere	step-sister	erin binaray
rogue, thief	furu kimi	step-son	erin owoi tobou
shadow	teme	uncle	yabi
sister	binaray	wife	ere, ta
slave	omini	witch	fúin-aray
soul	iba	wizard	fúin-wei
step-brother	erin binawei	woman	iyoro-aray
		young man,	posi, osiyaí
		gentleman	

2. Pertaining to the body

Adam's apple	pontú ofo	eyelid	toru ákpakpa
anus	biyen bini, tubui	excreta	kunéí
arch of foot	buwo kubu	face	adi
Armpit	atiyanbulobu	fathom	agbobu
back	obibiri	finger	isangbala
bear (child)	jii	fingernail	birá imimii
beard	iporin	forehead	okoto
belly	biri	grinder tooth	ukukatú aka
blood	isomof, bouyai	gullet	minimotud
bone	okokoro	gum	ide
bosom	kuburu	hair	tibi dumoy
breast	idou	hand	bira

buttocks	tubui apuma	head	tibi
chest	abgobu	heart	odudu
child	tobou	heel	buyo idida
chin	kiri akpe	intestine	ufurou
ear	beri	jaw	akpe
ear-hole	beri poólo	kidney	kunu ógbogbo
eye	toru	knee	igbele
eyeball,	toru tobou,	knuckle	isangbala tolú
pupil	toru úbu		
eyebrow	toru ékeka	lap, thigh	tene
eyelashes	toru átama	large intestine	opu ufurou
leg, foot	buyo	rib	biriaghan, agasara
lip	bibi udu		(agasaara)
liver	fofinfiye	shin	buyo ugbaru
lower jaw	kiri akpe	skull	tibi fere
lower lip	kiri bibi udu	small intestine	kala úfurou
lungs	ofufu (ofuufu)		
massage	loli	spermatozoa,	jii diná
masseur	iyó loliwei	sperm	
masseuse	iyó loliaray	sputum, spittle	ifula
molar tooth	ukukatú aka	testicle	ugbalú
moustache	ogonó bibi udu	testicle sac,	itakú
	alporin	scrotum	
mouth	bibi	thorax	agasára(agasaára)
nape	ory	throat	minimotuú, pontuú
navel	kutu	thumb	bira tibi
nose	nini	toes	buyo asangbala
nostril	nini poólo	tongue	bolou, belou
occiput	kokoli	tooth	aka
palm	bira kubú	upper jaw	ogonó akpe

pelvis	yku	upper lip	ogono bibi udu
penis	tonghon	waist	kunu
person	kimj	wart	ikali
pubic hair	ori	whiskers	agbapaara aiporin
		wrist	bira koghon

3. Pertaining to diseases and abnormalities

asthma	efeké	hiccup or	siké
blackout	toru yain, toru	hiccough	
	bobu, toru maran	humps	ubu
	maran	lame	ukule
boil	otin	lame man	ukulewei
catarrh	ekifirin	leper	pina don koribó
chickenpox	ogbudu	leprosy	pina don
cornea	toru atan	mad	nemu
cough	olou	menstruation	use
cramp	egbenegbene	mole	tamaray lelei
crawcraw	jaá	neuralgia	owoi tibi ju don
dentist	aka juwoweí	phlegm	olou ekperekpete
disease	don (don)	pimple	ighoró, adi ebimo
dizzy	bobuu, mamu,	rheumatism	nema don
	bitii		
dysentery	ikiló	ringworm	feun
earache	beri don (don)	smallpox	igára don (don)
ear wax	beri feun	sneeze	idisein
eczima	egene	stammer	epepere
elephantiasis	duba don	stammerer	epeperebo
fever	osoba, ewu	toothache	aka don
foot yaws	ogodo	tuberculosis	olou don
			(olou don)

giddiness	toruyain don	whitlow	itofí
guineaworm	diminiwei	whooping cough	efeké olou
headache	tibi don	yaws	ovin

4. Pertaining to the animal kingdom

aeroplane fish,	idoumoogodi	colt	posi owoi asi
flying fish	ogodi	cow	iyoro evin
albumen	ege pinaju	coucal	otiti
"alligator",	sibiri, agugu	crab	agó, akcrú
broad-fronted		crayfish	idémefún
crocodile		cricket	oselé
animal	nama	crocodile	igere, ségi, agbákara
ant	isono	crowned crane	ogomugo
antelope	agira	darter bird,	okelékélé
ass	kedekedé	snake bird	
bait	ijon	dog	obiri
barbel	kele	dragonfly	evinvin
barracuda	doro	drake	owoi kpokpoyeghe
bat	poi	drone	owoi akamá
bedbug	bedé úku	duck	iyoro kpokpoyeghe
bee	funwei, funwei, akamá	duiker	wan
beetle	ukpukpu	eagle	ugo
bird	bou ofini	eaglefish	egbein
bitch	iyoro obiri	earthworm	lobó
boa	oribidi	edible maggot	doun
boar, hog	ajana ubi	egg	ege
buffalo	ogori	electric catfish	oma
bush fowl	otené	elephant	ugborugbo, opuwoi
bull	owei evin		

butterfly	abalabalá	ewe	iyorọ ọnana
cat	ode, ológbo	fat	imeli (imeeli)
catfish	olúmo (oluúmo)	feather	efini ipughon
centipede	tonpeléwei	female	iyorọ
chameleon	osimágalaga	fiddler crab	okorikoko, utú
chimpanzee	akaito	filly	posi iyorọ asi
cock, rooster	owoi ofini		
cockroach	feru		
fish	idi	horn	ugbú
fly	otoló	hornbill	akanghan
fowl	ofini	hornet	adunbiya
"fox"	ewere	horse,	owoi asi
frog	torúlulu,	stallion	
	torúsula, ákere	"iguana",	abedí
gills	isonlo (isoonlo)	monitor lizard	
gilt	igidíí óporopo	kidney	kunu ógbogbo
glow-worm	egungúnbay	kingfisher	saisai
gnat	tinwei	kite	awiyain
goat	obori	leech	akulá
gorilla	osa	liver	fóinfiye
grasshopper	akpaikpai	lizard	akpokoí
gravid animal,	ufure namá	lobster	opuró
animal with young		louse, lice	uku
green grass-snake	osaíwei	lungs	ofufu (ofuufuu)
hammer-headed-	seifini,	maggot	egulei
stork	egbéfini	manatee,	emiín, torufawei
hatch	pisen	sea-cow	
hawk	odokó	mangabey	opon
he-goat	okoti	mare	iyorọ asi
heifer	posi iyorọ evin	meat	nama
hen	iyorọ ofini	millipede	igbokó

hippopotamus	otobo	(otter),	okosi
		mongoos	
monkey	obukon	salmon	dowoi
mosquito	otungbolo	sandfly	odubú
moths	tukpabería	scale(of fish)	igegere
mouse	ogbonu oke	scorpion	osuwógbinimágbín
mudfish	bou iyoro	sharr	ofuruma
mudskipper	atílá	shark(sawfish)	okí
otter	okosi, binipomó	crocodile	
owl	okurukurú	sheep	onana
palm weaver	ly-igegere (lyu-igegere)	she-goat	iyoro obori
pangolin	kpakpatwawei	shine nose	ida
parrot	okolobi	shrimp	eléweri, egéweri
periwinkle	egbé	shink	amoleí, omoleí
pig	oporopó	sloughed	iyowoi oji
pigeon	olíkpu	skin	
porcupine	igirisí	snail	osi
prayingmantis	ilágbolúpele	snake,	iyowoi
puff-adder	ofo	serpent	
python	okinikini, opu óribidi	soldier ant	olulu
		sow	iyoro oporopó
ram	agbo	sparrow	ogoláí
rat	oké	spider	akpákpa
rhinoceros	ugbútua	spine	sungba, e.g.
beetle	ukpukpu		olúyumo sungba
spitting cobra	dirimowei, ollí	turtle dove	kirimópoupuí
squirrel	ugbe	vulture	ugurí
stinging ant	atangbaláí	wall gecko	wáí korú
stork	olou	wasp	etemteme
sunbird	useré	(mason or mudwasp)	
		water-beetle	obineghonsán

swan	kẹnkẹjẹ	water-bug	bini-óbiri
swallow	tamaray-idọlọ	(lit.water-dog)	
tadpole	orimagelegele	whale(dolphin)	ibojo
tail	sẹjẹ	white ant,	ikaɲ
tilapia,	ikpalakpalá,	termite	
mangrove fish		whitebait	itokó
toad	ikpórúkpó-ogumy	wild duck	ọbẹrẹbẹrẹ
tortoise	egui	wing	apelepe
tsetsefly	edé	woodpecker	arugbólọwei
turbot	pomupali	worm-cast	ijẹmọ, lẹbọ bíbì
turtle	lukéluke,	wrigglers	goɲ goɲ
	ikakí	yellow ant,	ogorogoró,
		tailor ant	egeregeré

5. Pertaining to natural phenomena

breeze, wind	ẹfẹrẹ	lake	ogugu
brine	alabini	moon	ogogogweí
bubble	ebuebue, ogbudy	mud	otokó
bush	bou	night	duin
creek	uba	pond	ogugu
dry season	baara	rain	osuwo
ebbing tide	subu bini	river	torẹ
foam, lather	ofoko	sand	yuun
fungus	bun	star	kuj
hole	poolo	storm	ebiri
island	otuwo, etele	sun	ovorin, agbalá
jungle	bou bulóbu	swamp	dẹdẹ
		water	bini

6. Pertaining to plants

afara, affara	apaupa tɪn	forked stick	ijan tuá tɪn
Alstonia boonei	kungbo	Futumia	
		alastica	kpasúkaraghá
arrowhead(tree)	okuába	grape fruit	geingéin
bamboo	bomou, agbadáí,	grass	tuké
	koro pomu	groundnut,	ísángwégwé,
banana	oyinbó	peanut,	obori kunéí
		monkeynut	
bark	tɪn opuran	husk	ifeferé
	tin opuran		
beans	iserému	ironwood	ukpon
bombax sp.	asísaghá	kernel	uvuin
branch	tɪn gbain	kolanut	dabiyo
bread-fruit	beké buru	Lagos wood	kukú
camwood	isele tɪn	leaf	di beri
cane	dii	leaves	di aberi
cassava	imítaka	lime	oviléye
Ceiba pentandra	ogungbologhá	log	gedú
Chlorophora excelsa	iróko	Lophira procera	kuru
coconut	ikokodíá	Lovoa klainiana	apopo
cocoyam	odú	maize	agbodo
corn	agbodo	mangrove wood	agala
Cterolophon	yoweí tɪn	Mitragyna	baá
species		ciliata	
cotton	iyawí	nim	egbé
Erythrophyleum	iré	oil bean tree	ukpagha tɪn
		okro	ikiyaby
onion	ututa	snag	ikelike
orange	ogu	sponge	isiyan
palm nut	ly (luy)	starch	usi
palm tree	ly tɪn	sugar-cane	ukpú

palm wine	ijo wurí	syphonia	oklóló
pamira	ugbosú	gabunensis	
pepper	igíná	thatch	ijan
pineapple	beké kòkòrò	thistle	opu ówoi a-imimi
Piptademiastum	isangha	tree	tín (tíin)
africana		Uapaca	ile
plantain	beriba	(all species)	
pumpkin	udemúdé, utí	vegetable	efó
Raffia	kòrò	wart	ikalí
raffia-palm	kòrò tín (tíin)	water lettuce	itebetebé
root	ikimu	waterlily	òbèrèbèrè
Sacoglottis	tala	water weeds	itebetebé, orororú
gabunensis		water-yam	iyòrò buru
Sagittaria	okuába	white mangrove	oké
sagittifolia		wood	fíni
Sapele wood	kúkúpèrè	wild rubber	lugbo, kpasúkarakhá
screwpine	kòkòrò	tree	
silk cotton tree	asísaghá	willow wine	ogbá
		yam	buru

7. Pertaining to common objects and social life

bag	akpo	chess	epelé
barb	beri, e.g.	city	dúba ána
	daye beri	clay	baná
basin	ndé	cloth	bíde
basket	èkperé	coal	agila, ayan
bead	íla	cooking-pot	fèrè, bèlè
bed	ukpe	corkscrew	beríma, píkíyè
bedroom	juru (juuru)	covenant	ologho
bell	igologolo	cup	òko

book	fun	dagger	ogigedein
bottle	ololo	dish	agópulo
broom	ofunyoun	door	ogiga
bucket	korobá	draughts	epelé
bullet	agele	draughtsmen,	epelé afiyai
calabash, gourd	igogo, igbegbe	chessmen	epelé augba
candle	ikiyáni	dregs	ete
cannon	kurúsi	drum	oji, oje
canoe	ary	drummer	ojifariwei
cap, hat	tun	dustbin	idusun
castrate	pou(nama igbalu kó sin)	ember	kori finí agila
chain	ogiyoro	examination dadi (daadi)	
chair	ikasí	faggot	finipoi
file	igbefari	fan	finí feúnye
fish trap	ité	large mortar	uguyen
fish cage	kana	latrine	kunéi bou
flag	afiyála	lead	ojé
floor	wari kubú	marble	akú
food	fiyai	masquerade	owu
funnel	atiro	mat	obine
gun	sibeyé, alagba	mattress	kolosaa
guncap	ukpa	mirror,	temediye
gunpowder	feun	looking-glass	
half	kibe	money	okubá
hammer	matélu	mortar	udo
headtie	tibigbalaye	mortar pestle	ugurife, udo tóbou
hearth	tubo	mucus	atuta
hinge	ikonu	nail	pereru
hive	akamá wari	needle	nuun (nuu)
hob, pot-stand	eso	oar	inawiri
hook	daye(daaye)	oath	ovughó
		oil	pulo

honeycomb	bẹ̀n-atan	paddle	jowei, yowei
house	wari	paint	oda
hut	kala warí	penny	kòbò
iron	urẹn	phosphate	ikiun
knickers	sakoto	pillow	tìbìsoriye
knife	ẹ̀dẹ̀n	pipe	ikidibá
ladder	obebé	plate	aséte, beké fẹ̀rẹ̀
lamp	tykpa	stone(whetstone)	poyé (pooye)
pliers	amín	stool	ubaku
roof	utu	sugar	oyinbú
salt	adaún	sword	ogbòdò
scepter, sceptre	pẹ̀rẹ̀.òkpò	thread	bìdẹ̀díf
scissors	tisóri	tobacco	ifúyẹ̀
ship	beké aru	town	ama
shirt	aru	trap	biyẹn
shoe	akpuru	tumbler	tunbéle
shrine	eruwari	umbrella	asisa
sieve, sifter	kpukpuyé	urinal	san bou
singlet	simi	village	gbini
soap	ose	wall	wari agbara
spear	dumoun		(agbaara)
springtide	opu bini	water-pot	ebe
spoon	kuyẹ̀rẹ̀	well	age
starch	usi	whistle	ipẹ̀nrẹ̀nrẹ̀n
starch pot	beké beḗ,	whistle	ofiyoyu
	usitimiye	wide mortar	agba
		wring	fanghan

8. Some verbs and adjectives

bēlch	epere	narrow	gubaf
bitter	aku	reap	soku
black	dirimɔ	red	wowo (woowo)
blink	gibu	scratch	jamɔ
burn	joun	search	dɔu
buy	fɛ (fɛɛ)	sew	gbɪn
carve	kara	short	kolúu
cross	igbaɪ	shout	giya
dance	sei	sigh	sumafn
die	fɪ (fɪɪ)	sing	tun, e.g. numɔ tun
dig	soku	smoke	egun
eat	fɪ	snore	ogorɪ
fade	fuɪn, ɔtɛ	sob	siko
fear	esin	sow	gboro
fight	ada	speak, talk	fiye
flay	onɪ	squat	ukureɪ
fold	kpo (kpoo)	steal, filch	furu
grumble	ububuru	strong	kuro
hiss	sumafn	tinkle	sonlɔ
laugh	derɪ	twinkle	toru yáfnmɔ
lazy	suu	weave	dori
leak	ufuri	weep, cry	you
lick	taba	white	pina
		winnow	kpukpu
		yawn	awun